The Covenanters in America

To fill a gap in American history is the pur pose of the book entitled The Covenanter, the Cavalier and the Puritan, by Judge Oliven PERRY TEMPLE of Tennessee (Cincinnati, the Robert Clarke Co.). The author was impelled to the studies of which we have here the outcome by observing that both writers and public speakers have been long in the habit of dividing the men who have shaped the institutions of this country and guided its destinies into two classes, namely, the Puritans and the Cavaliers, the former regarded as representative of Northeen thought and civilization, and the latter of Southern. Almost entirely left out of consideration have been the Covenanters, although these were, perhaps, the most numerous, and, in some ects, the most influential of the three races. At the time of the Revolution the men of Cove nanter blood were scattered everywhere in the colonies, and they were especially numerous throughout the region south of New York. Before comparing the part which they played in the Revolution and afterwards with that taken by those of Cavalier or of Puritan stock, Judge Tenrole devotes three chapters to an exposition of the ideas which they brought with them from Scotland and Ireland, and to the gradual spread of these ideas throughout the Middle and Southern colonies. We shall sum up some of the less known facts bearing on this subject which have been collected here laboriously, and then indicate very briefly some of the differences pointed out between the Covenanter, Puritan, and Cava-Her elements of our colonial population.

Throughout this book, the term Covenanters Is employed instead of Scotch-Irish, for the reason that the former word is at once more definite and more comprehensible. The term Scotch-Irish is restricted in its application and not alto gether clear in its purport. By the term Covenanters is signified all Scotch Presbyterians and their descendants, without reference to the place of their birth or the place of their temporary sojourning, who eventually settled in the colonies or in the States previously to the time when intermarriages with other sects became common. By reason of these intermarriages the term ultimately ceased to mean both a race and a sect, and came to signify only a race. Thus defined, the term Covenanters will not only include the Scotch-Irish and their descendants, but also Scotch Presbyterians who were never in Ireland, but came directly from Scotland, or from other quarters, to the colonies. The failure to find a phrase comprehensive enough to cover these two branches of the Presbyterian family may account in part for the failure to de them justice in comparing the work done by them with that performed by the Puritans and Cavallers. Scotch-Irish and Scotch Presbyterians have had to bear comparison with races and

forces not thus divided in the public mind. The influence exerted on the thought and mind of the world by the Scotch Covenanters has never been appreciated fully. Theirs was the first great revolution in Europe resulting in the complete independence of religious thought and conduct. Protestantism in the Netherlands, though struggling heroically for the same object, had not yet triumphed, even in the northern provinces, and was to be vanquished in the southern, now constituting the kingdom of Belgium. In England the spirit of religious liberty was still in its cradle and had not assumed a definite form. There were many bold and advanced thinkers there, but as yet no organized movement, no unity of action. The fact is too often overlooked that the consummation of the religious revolution in Scotland, through the agency of the Covenanters, took place sixty years before the landing of the Mayflower at Plymouth and eighty years before the great uprising in England, which eventually made the Puritans and the Independents a mighty force in the State. To the resistance offered by Scotland to the attempt of Charles I. to force a liturgy upon them, England owed her own de-The example of Scotland spread to England, and in the revolution which followed Charles lost his head. It was also the rebellion in Scotland which frustrated the intention of Charles I. to crush out all the independent sects in the American colonies and to abolish all the solonial charters. This was the first debt of America to Scotland, To Scotchmen, also, rather than to Englishmen, do we owe our ideas of civil liberty. More than two hundred years before our Declaration of Independence John Knox spoke as follows: "The authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people; the former are not superior to the latter, collectively considered; if the rulers b come tyrannical, or employ their power for the tion of their subjects, they may be lawfully controlled and, proving incorrigible, may be deposed by the community as the superior d tyrants may be judici against, even to a capital punishment. these views were uttered the speaker had Mary Stuart in mind, but, having become accepted in England two generations later, they brought her grandson to the block. So much for the contribution to the cause of religious and civil liberty which the Covenanter emigrants to the colonies were qualified by tradition and training to make. Let us now see whether in respect of education they were not at least as well advanced as the English Puritans. John Knox was a devoted friend of education, and elieved it to be the highest safeguard of the Protestant religion. Through his influence ols were generally established throughout the kingdom When he died, in 1572, Andrew Melville took up his work and pushed it forward. As Principal, he reformed the University of Glasgow, and placed it on so high a basis of learning that it attracted students from other parts of Europe. A few years later he rejuvenated in the same way the University of St. Andrew's. During the reign of William and Mary a statute was passed by the Scotch Parliament for the establishment of common schools in every parish, to be supported in part by the parish and in part by rate bills. Macaulay testifies that, " before one generation had passed away, it began to be evident that the common people of Scotland were superior in intelligence to the common people of any other country in Europe. The statute of William and Mary did but reaffirm and consolidate a state of things which had existed for upwards of a hun dred years. In the fifteenth century grammar schools had been established in all burgh corpo rations, and, after the rebellion of 1640, parochial schools, modelled upon those of Geneva were established throughout Scotland, under the direct supervision of the Kirk. When some of the Covenanters, on the invitation of James I. settled in the north of Ireland, they took with them the education, as well as the religion of Scotland. They built schoolhouses as well as churches. The sons of the well-to-do were sent to Glasgow or to Edinburgh for the higher education, and common schools were provided for those unable to attend a university. Thus it came to pass that, in respect of education and intelligence, the Scotch colonists in Ire land were superior to the English colonists. The province of Ulster, where they dwelt, became the most prosperous section of Ireland, and the contrast between it and English settlements was marked. When the Covenanters were gradually driven out I Ireland by persecution, between the years 1700 and 1775, and came to the American plantations, their first care in their new homes, after securing religious privileges, was to provide for the education of their children. In every neighborhood where it was possible they established schools. Nor were they content with primary and intermediate education. No fewer than twenty-eight colleges and high-grade academies were started by Covenanter ministers during the eighteenth century in New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Caroins, and Tennessee, Such was the origin of Princeton University; of Jefferson College,

Pennsylvania; of Delaware College; of Wash-

ington College, and of Hampden-Sydney College, Virginia; of Washington College and of Green-

ville College in Tennessee. Those mentioned by

name do not constitute a tenth of the schools

started by Covenanter ministers in the colonies south of New York. The Synod of Carolina, at

an early day, instructed each of the Presbyteries

Covenanters who gave the free school system to New Jersey, and for nearly a century before the conducted most of the classical chools to the south of this colony.

When we come to consider the influence exrted by the Covenanters in bringing on the Revolution and in sustaining it, we are reainded of the words of the historian Bancroft: The first voice publicly raised in America to issolve all connection with Great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, nor the Dutch of New York, nor from the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." At the time the great events of the Revolution were unfolded, the Covenanters were regarded by Tory and Episcopalian writers as the chief authors of the insurrectionary movement. The charge that "the American war of independence was a Presbyterian and Scotch-Irish war," was made at the time by the friends of the Crown, and contemporaneous history goes far toward supporting it. Mr. Galloway, a conspicuous advocate of the royal government, ascribed the Revolution mainly to the agitation of the Presbyterian clergy and laity, which had begun as early as 1764. Another monarchist of the same period wrote thus: You will have discovered that I friend of the Presbyterians and that I fix all the blame of these extraordinary proceedings on them." What united the Covenanters with the Congregationalists of New England in determined opposition to the acts of the British government previously to the Declaration of Independence was the early declared intention of establishing Episcopacy in the colonies. Little has been said by historians on this point, yet it is probable that the proposal to introduce Bishops into America did more than anything else to bring the religious sects together in opposition to the English government. John Adams said that "It was in discussing this subject that the plonists were first led to question the supremacy of Parliament." Adolphus, in his book on the reign of George III., ascribes the unity of sentiment and of action in the American Presbyterian Church, and the momentum given by it to the cause of independence, largely to the establishment of an annual Synod in Philadelphis, where, he says, "all general affairs, political as well as religious, were debated and de-cided. * * From this Synod orders and decrees were issued throughout America, and to them a ready and entire obedience was paid. . . By this union a party was prepared to display their power by resistance, and the Stamp law presented itself as a favorable subject of hostility." It is certain that, on June 4, 1774, the Cove

nanters of Hanover county, Pa., denounced in a

public meeting the action of Great Britain as

'infoultous and oppressive." and declared that, the event of that government "attempting to force unjust laws on us by the strength of arms, our cause we leave to heaven and our rifles." On June 10, 1774, the Covenanters at Middletown, at a public meeting, indorsed the resolution previously adopted by the people of Hanover. On May 6, 1775, the Covenanters of Western Pennsylvania at Hanastown, in Westmoreland county, and those of Fort Pitt and Chestercounties, pledged their lives and their fortunes in favor of the determination of the colonies to resist the oppression of the English Ministry. Significant also is the fact that, in New York, the organization for promoting the cause of the colonies, known as the "Sons of Liberty," was called the "Presbyterian Junta" by their enemies. In Virginia the Presbytery of Hanover took the lead for liberty, and demanded the abolition of the Establishment of the Anglican Church and the civil equality of every denomination. It was the Covenanters who sustained Patrick Henry and the revolutionary movement in Virginia. Jefferson, speaking of Henry to Daniel Webster, said: "He was far before us all in maintaining the spirit of the revolution. His influence was most extensive with the members from the upper counties, and his boldness and their votes overawed and controlled the more cool or the more timid aristocratic gentlemen in Patrick Henry was supported by the Covenanter nembers from the Valley and Piedmont region, which had been settled by them, while the Cavaler members from the Tidewater section held back. One of the influences back of Patrick Henry was the action of the Covenanter people of Fincastle county. On Jan. 20, 1775, four nonths before the step taken by the people of Mecklenburg county, N. C., the people of Fin-castle county, Va., through their Chairman and minister, presented an address to the Conti-nental Congress, in which, after enumerating their privileges as freemen, they said: "We de lare that we are deliberately and resolutely de termined never to surrender them to any power on earth but at the expense of our lives." This patriotic declaration came from the extreme southwestern part of Virginia, over 400 miles west of Williamsburg, then the capital of the colony. This locality was Thus it came to pass that when the treaties near the Watauga settlement in North Caroof the celebrated expedition to King's Mountain under Campbell, Sevier, and Shelby. Again, on May 10, 1776, a memorial was presented to the rusta county, another of the "up-country" counties, peopled by the Covenanters, repreenting the necessity of making the confederacy of the united colonies perfect, independent, and asting, and of framing an equal, free, and liberal government that might bear the test of tuture ages. We observe, finally, that when the critical hour came for signing the Declaration of Independence, many of the members of the Continental Congress held back, and it was distinguished Covenanter, the Rev. John Witherspoon, President of Princeton College, and a lineal descent of John Knox, who persuaded them to subscribe their names. Foureen of the signers were of Covenanter blood, that is to say men whose ancestors had signed the "solemn league and covenant" in Gray Friars Church, 138 years before.

more earnest and courageous than the Covenanters. "It is a fact beyond question," says Plowden, "that most of the early successes in America were immediately owing to the vigor ous exertions and prowess of the Irish emigrants [the Covenanters] who bore arms in that cause." Ramsay, the historian of South Carolina, who resided there during the Revolution, and who was a member of the Continental Congress, says: "The Irish in America [they were universally called Irish, and not Scotch-Irish or

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In sustaining the cause of independence, one

declared, and in fighting the battles of the Revo-

lution, no section of the American people were

Covenanters until recently] were almost to a man on the side of independence. * * * They were Presbyterians, and, therefore, mostly Whigs. * * * One of the clergymen of this race said to his congregation that he was sorry to see before him so many able-bodied men when the country needed their services at Valley Forge." In the Southern Presbyteries it was deemed an offence worthy of discipline for any minister to exhibit British sympathies. The same historian, Ramsay, testifies that, in the colonial wars, most of the soldiers of Virginia were furnished by the Covenanter section of the State. He adds that in Pennsylvania the Covenanters stood up as a unit for independence, and contributed a majority of the troops furnished by the Keystone State to the Continental Army. The same thing was true of the whole country south of the Delaware. The fact is noteworthy that while many of the Epis copal clergy sided with England in the war of the Revolution, almost every Covenanter preacher was an ardent Whig and patriot. All, or nearly all, of Washington's army chaplains were Dissenters, and throughout the war he attended Dissenting services. Judge Jones, the Tory historian of New York, used the terms Presbyterians and Episcopalians as almost synonymous with rebel and loyalist. Of course,

the North and South, but especially in the South, who openly favored independence. Judge Temple, though at one time he was disposed to look upon it skeptically, now regards as authenticated the Declaration of Independence attributed to the Covenanters of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, This under its charge to provide for a grammar was made, it should be remembered, on May school; the injunction was obeyed. It was the 20, 1775, a little over thirteen menths bewas made, it should be remembered, on May

however, there were many Episcopalians in both

fore the decisive step was taken by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. No one of the colonies was more stirred by the great events of 1775 than was North Carolina. Her citizens, though not greatly oppressed, were perhaps, the ripest for revolution of any people in America. Within the limits of the colony were large numbers of Covenanters, who knew from experience or tradition the intolerable evils of a tyrannical government. Mecklenburg county was occupied entirely by such men When, therefore, they learned in May, 1775, that the British Parliament had declared the colonies in a state of revolt they knew that s great crisis had come. They did not wait for the action of the Continental Congress, nor for that of their own provincial legislature. They met in Charlotte to take council together. While they were in session the news came that patriot blood had been shed at Lexington and Concord. The meeting was addressed by Covenanter ministers and, among the resolutions adopted, were the following: "Resolved, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have connected us with the mother country, and absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, abjuring all political connection with the nation that has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of Americans at Lexington and Concord. Resolved, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, that we are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governed people, under the power of God and the General Congress, for the maintenance of which inde-pendence we solemly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor." Whether or no the pledge was made at the date alleged, there is no doubt that it was kept. The Covenanters of the western counties of North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and southwestern Virginia rendered inestimable services to the colonial cause. If we except the fighting which ended in Burgoyne's surrender and except the victories of Gen. George Robert Clarke in the Northwest, no battle of the Revolu tion had such momentous consequences that of King's Mountain. majority of the force which gained this important victory was composed of Covenanters, al though the two noted leaders, John Sevier and Isaac Shelby, were not of Scotch-Irish stock. The former was of Huguenot and the latter of Welsh origin. It will be remembered that, on Oct. 7, 1780, 910 Whig patriots who had been twenty-six hours in the saddle overtook the Tory commander, Ferguson, posted on King's Mountain, with 1,100 men, part of them British regulars. Four sides of the mountain were simultaneously scaled. Three times the assailants were driven back by bayonet charges; three times they rallied and returned to the fight. The battle lasted one hour and five minutes, at the end of which 220 of the enemy were dead, 180 were wounded and either 600 or 700 were taken priseners. The consequences of the victory were striking. At the time Cornwallis was on a triumphant march through North Carolina to Virginia. Charleston and Savannah had fallen, and Gates had been defeated at Camden. There was no organized force in the Southern States capable of withstanding for an hour the victorious army of Cornwallis. There was universal gloom throughout the colonies. And so it was that the news of King's Mountain came like the flash of a great light in darkness. The very night Cornwallis heard of it, he began a retreat into South Carolina. The tide had turned and

Yorktown was in sight. The part taken by the Covenanters in fighting the battles of the Revolution in North and South Carolina only constituted a part of their patriotic work. It was they mainly who defended the western frontier from Georgia to Canada, and particularly in Tennessee and Kentucky, against the Indian allies of the British Crown. Official records prove that it was as much the policy of the British Ministry to ex terminate the settlers west of the Alleghanies as it was to destroy the army under Washington. It is due largely to the Covenanters that at the close of the Revolution, not an inch o territory west of the Alleghanies had been lost. but, on the contrary, settlements had been pushed further and further west. While the Continental armies, with the assistance of French land forces and fleets, barely held the Atlantic States, a few hundred hunters and ploneers, mostly Covenanters, unaided by Congress and acting at their own expense and of their own volition, won and held by their valor what has proved to be the heart of our great empire against the combined power of savage nations between Canada and Flor backed by British agents, stimulated by British gold, and aided, at times, British troops. The territory occupied and defended by the frontier leaders now comprehends the great States of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illiwhich closed the war for independence were lina, which was afterward the rallying point | negotiated, we were able to plead the doctrine of uti possidetis to uphold our title to the whole of the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. The service thereby rendered to Virginia Convention from the citizens of Au- the country at large has not been adequately recognized, probably because the Southern colonies made comparatively small contributions to the regular Continental army, Judge Temple points out that although only a small percentage of the entire population of these colonies was entered on the records of the Continental forces, yet, in view of the fact that conflicts with Tories, British, and Indians were incessant, it may be questioned whether there was a single Covenanter or patriot who was not under arms a part of the time. It is open to doubt, for instance, whether the name of a single private member of the body which won the of King's Mountain can be found in scribed on the army registers which were kept

> IV. It is interesting to follow Judge Temple through his computation of the number of persons of Covenanter stock in the colonies at the date of the Declaration of Independence. It seems certain that a majority of the population of the colonies was in the South. The five Southern colonies contained at least haif of the English-speaking race in America. Virginia alone contributed one-fifth of the population, or about 550,000 souls. According to McMasters's estimate all the colonies together had only 2,750,000 inhabitants. Of that number more than 1,375,000 were in the South. It is proba ble that, at the outbreak of the Revolution, the New England States had collectively no more than 750,000 inhabitants. All of these were not of Puritan blood. There were some Quakers and many Baptists. Rhode Island was a Bap tist colony. At an early day 22,000 Covenanters settled in New England, some of them in 1718, and all of them in the first part of the eighteenth century. They were numerous in Nev Hampshire, Vermont, and the District of Maine. Judge Temple calculates that the Covenanter who settled in New England during the fifty years preceding 1775 must with their de scendants have amounted at the latter date to fifty or sixty thousand. These, with th Quakers and the Baptists, probably made the number of persons not of Puritan blood in New England fully 100,000, leaving for the latter race only about 650,000, including slaves and indented servants. On the other hand, the Covenanters in all the colonies at that time are computed by Judge Temple at over 900,000. The figures need not surpris us when we call to mind that between 1728 and 1750 12,000 arrived annually in Philadelphi alone. If we suppose that these had only doubled in forty-seven years, they would have amounte in 1775 to half a million. The Covenanters however, who landed in Philadelphia were not the only ones who came to the colonies. They debarked at other ports as well: at New York, New Castle, Baltimore, Wilmington Charleston, and Savannah. The emigration began about the year 1700, continued, with intermissions, until the Revolution. Sometimes it was very active. "In the two years which followed the Antrim evictions," says Froude, "30,000 Protestants left Ulster." James Logan, President of the

> Proprietary Council of Pennsylvania, wrote in

1729 that "last week not less than six ships ar-I rived, and every day two or three arrive also."

Frouds says that "ships could not be found to arry the crowds that were eager to go." From he wall-ascertained facts as to this remarkable nigration, the conclusion seems well founded that, previously to 1775, not less than 500,000 people of the Covenanter race from the north of Ireland and Scotland had settled in the colonies. If we assume the average length of time they had been here to be thirty years, it can be safely inferred that they had increased at least 80 per cent, during that time, making the number less than 900,000 people in 1775. That the Puritans in the same year could not have much exceeded 600,000 is evident from the fact that, in 1790, the whole population of New England, including Quakers, Baptists, and Covenanters, was only a fraction over 1,000,000. The Cavaliers in Virginia, including their slaves and white servants, could not have exceeded 400,000 in 1775, since the whole population of the colony in 1790 was only 747,610. These estimates indicate that the Covenanters were, at the date of the Revolution, the most numerous of the three great subdivisions of the people in the country. In New York, and especially in the western section, a large part of the inhabitants seem to have been of this stock. Delaware and New Jersey also had a large Covenanter population. In Pennsylvania they were very numerous, being reckoned at one-third of the population. In the Southern colonies they constituted nearly one-half of the inhabitants. In North and South Carolina their control was almost supreme. Ramsay, the historian of South Carolina, records that Ireland, that is, the Covenanter emigrants, contributed most to the population of that Williamson says the same thing in reference to North Carolina. It is admitted that Kentucky was peopled by Covenanters, and it is equally clear that Tennessee, from the very first settlement, has been in the main under the direction of this people. Georgia also was largely settled by the Covenanter race. Oglethorpe's colony practically failed in 1752. The New England colony at Sunbury also failed. Then came the Covenanters from the mountain and Piedmont regions of the Carolinas and Virginia and filled all middle Georgia. They have gone on from the day of their arrival, until they have given Georgia an acknowledged preeminence among the Southern States. To this day the only people of a nearly pure, homogeneous type and blood in the United States are found in the Southern States, and those approaching the nearest to purity and homogeneity are encountered in the States where the Covenanters first settled in great numbers, namely, in Virginia, West Virginia, North

Now, if we would measure the part played by the Covenanters in our Revolutionary war, we must keep in view that they were Whigs almost to a man. The only apparent exception is offered by the highlanders of North Carolina. But these were not generally Covenanters. Many of them, indeed, were Catholics. On the other hand, the number of Tories in the country was computed by John Adams as one-third of the people and has been estimated by Justin Winsor at twofifths. There were a good many of them in the New England States, and they were numerous in New York and Pennsylvania. In all of the Southern States they constituted about onehalf. Deducting not only the Tories, but also the Quakers, of whom there were a good many in Virginia and North Carolina, we can see that the Covenanters formed considerably more than one-half of the fighting population on the patriotic side throughout the South. It is true that the Catholics of Maryland were true to the cause of independence, but they were not numerous. The Baptists, also, were everywhere loyal to the colonies, their number was very limited. The Methodists, likewise, were faithful, but their great denomination was then in its infancy. The Huguenots were as true to the American cause as the Covenanters, but their numbers were very small. The Germans, who had settled in Virginia, constituted but an insignifiant part of the population, so that not many fighting men could be drawn from them. Many of the Cavallers, no doubt, fought for independ ence, as did also a part of the settlers of English ent outside of Virginia. All these put together, however, could not furnish as many soldiers as the Covenanters. Judge Temple, therefore, concurs with Douglas Campbell in believ ing that the Covenanters contributed to the Continental army a majority of its troops throughout the whole country south of the Delaware River, besides assuming almost the whole of the defensive work on the Western frontier.

The Covenanters or as they are commonly

Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee

and Kentucky.

esignated, the Scotch-Irish, have sometimes been described as "the Puritans of the South The author of this book deems it a mistake thus to confound these two great peoples. He points out that, though the English and the Scotch tent, they early became separated into two distinct nations, each possessing peculiar characteristics of its own. It is not denied that, from ome points of view, there were striking resemblances between them, especially between the early Puritans and the early Covenanters. In the stern austerity of their religion and in the ombreness of their lives, in a word, in the outward aspect of religious life, they looked very much atike. Yet the traits which distinguished the one from the other were unmistakable, especially after each race had left its native land and found a new home itself, where its natural tendencies had room for development. The Puritan was, and remained, an Englishman, with English tastes, ideas, and habits. In common with the rest of his countrymen, he believed in caste, in social distinctions, and in the inequality of men. In religion, the Puritan believed, with all the earnestness of his strong nature, that he was right, and, so believing, he used the whole power of the Church and State to enforce conormity to his belief. He permitted no diss ut. In his view, there must be universal conformity, or else banishment the whipping post or the gibbet. The State was merely the ally of the Church, useful only to enforce its decrees and dogmas. The latter was supreme over the consciences, the minds, and the bodies of men. This was the Church polity of Puritanism in Massachusetts. On the other hand, the Covenanter lemanded in the colonies total freedom of religion from the control of the State. He denied the authority of the magistrate in any matter whatever to interfere with the conscience, religious beliefs, or religious practices. The religion of men should be, he insisted, as free as air, or the water of the hillside brook. As to government, he was democratic in his ideas. is long and bitter experience he had seen the arrogance and impudence of caste. He had felt ts power and its malignity, and he had come to hate it with all the strength of his soul. By reason of centuries of ill-treatment and perse cution he hated England and everything English, as he hated no other country or people. Of all the inhabitants of the colonies he was, perhaps, the least affected by English ideas. thus appears that the differences in thoughts, habits, and religious practices between the Puritans and the Covenanters were wide, radical, and fundamental. It follows that to designate the Covenanter, or Scotch-Irish, by the name of Puritan is to confound race history and

zoe distinctions. It is common to represent Massachusetts as having been from 1637 the champion of human equality before the law. Judge Temple points out that it was not until 1833 that she opened wide her doors to all sects in worship, whereas, at the bidding of the Covenanters, this had been done in Virginia fifty years before. Neither was Massachusetts in the van with regard to the abolition of slavery until after 1836. As late as 1935 William Lloyd Garrison was mobbed in the streets of Boston because he was an abolitionist. Toward 1827 Benjamin Lundy could not find an abolitionist in that city. In 1826 of the one hundred and forty-three emancipation societies in the United States one hundred and three were in the South, but there was not one in Massachusetts. John Rankin, the noted abolitionist of Ohio, a Covenanter and from a Covenanter eighborhood, declared in the latter part of his life that, from 1816 to 1820, it had been safer to make abolition speeches in Tennessee or Kentucky than it was in the North. In 1893 Edward Everett, then Governor

Musischusests, suggested the expediency of prescuting abditionists. On the other hand, in 1828 is was estimated that in Tennessee three-fifths of the people were favorably disposed toward the principle of emancipation In the Constitutional Convention of Tennesse in 1834 a proposal was made to emancipate the in 1834 a proposal was made to emancipate the slaves of the State; it received over one-third of the votes of the members and the favorable indorsement of all, even those who opposed it approving the principle, but insisting that the time for the step had not arrived. It is known that Henry Clay began his political carrer in Kentucky by an effort to procure the emancipation of the slaves in that State. The fact is that the emancipation movement got its first start and momentum in Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, though the Quakers of Pennsylvania had made feeble efforts in that direction before the Revolution.

the emancipation movement got its first start and momentum in Virginia. Tennessee, and Kentucky, though the Quakers of Pennsylvania had made feeble efforts in that direction before the Revolution.

What the author has undertaken to prove by the detailed comparison of the Covenanter with the Puritan and the Cavalier, a comparison which occupies four chapters, may be simmed up in a sentence. He contends that the advanced theories and liberal ideas in reference to both religions and political liberty, which, like threads of gold, were woven into the institutions of the country and the life of the people, and which gave them their chief glory, were of Covenanter, and not of Puritan or Cavalier origin. As to religious liberty, it is submitted that the facts brought forward in this volume must suffect to command the reader's ready assent to the proof of the averment. It is certain that, until after the coming of the Covenanters, there was not a gleam of light in all the dreary region dominated by the Cavaliers and the Puritans. The despotism and the gloom of intolerance reigned supreme. A narrow bigory and supersition cast their blighting shadows over the minds of men. Notwithstanding, moreover, the bold and ceaseless teachings of the Covenanters from the day of their arrival in the country until they had aroused the storm of the Revolution, so difficult was it to induce the Puritans and Cavaliers to relax their deadly grasp on the consciences of mon that eleven years passed away after the inauguration of hostilities in the colonies before universal religious liberty prevailed in the Cavaliers to the array of facts adduced by him to refers to the array of facts adduced by him to refers to the array of facts adduced by him to show the deeply rooted ideas of caste and social distinctions did not preven that, for the attainment of political freedom, also, we are mainly indebted to men of Covenanters stock, the author refers to the array of facts adduced by him to show the deeply rooted laess of caste and social distinct

Pioneers of Evolution (First Notice).

In a volume of 260 pages, called Pioneers of Evolution (Appleton's), Mr. EDWARD CLODD has undertaken to tell the story of the origin of the evolution idea and its revival in modern times, after centuries of suspended animation during which the Church taught, and the laity ac cepted, the sufficiency of the Scriptures and of the General Councils to decide on matters which licoutside the domain of both. The first part o the book is devoted to those Greek and Roman pioneers of evolution from Thales to Lucretiu A second part, which covers the period from the beginning of our era to A. D. 1600, is divided into two chapters, the first of which is allotted to the three and a half centuries preceding Au gustine, and the second to the twelve centuries intervening between Augustine and Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, whom the author incor rectly describes as "Lord Bacon." In the thir part the author depicts the renaissance of science from A. D. 1600 onward, while, in the fourth and concluding part is described the develop ment of the evolutionary theory in our own day by Spencer, Darwin, Wallace, and Huxley.

who are in the van of any movement; hence its special fitness in connection with the topic bewho where the control of the control fore us, as designating men whose speculations cut a pathway through jungles of myth and legend to the realities of things. The pioneers of evolution, the first man known to have doubted

each of which, they believed, had its special character and property. A belief in such symbols as entities seems impossible to us, but one can conceive of its existence in early thought, when, as Aristotle says, they were "not separated from the objects ense." Even in the present day, among the eccentric people who believe in theosophy, o-called, and in astrology we find the delusion that numbers possess inherent magic or mystle virtues. So far as the ancients are concerned, Mr. Benn points out in his "Greek Philosophers that if we consider the lively emotions excited at a time when multiplication and division, squaring and cubing, the rule of three, the construction and equivalence of figures, with all their manifold applications to industry, commerce, the fine arts, and tactics were just as strange and wonderful as electrical phenomena are to us, we shall cease to wonder that a mere orm of thought, a lifeless abstraction, should once have been regarded as the solution of every problem, the cause of all existence, or that speculations thereon should have been more than once revived in after ages. To Xenophanes of Colophon, one of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, is accorded more than a passing reference. He, with Parmenides and Zeno, are the chief representatives of the Eleatic School, so named from the city in southwestern Italy. where a Greek colony had settled. He was the first known observer to detect the value of fossils as evidences of the action of water, but his chief claim to notice rests on the fact that, passing beyond the purely physical speculations of the ionian school, he denied the idea of a primary substance and theorized about the naturand actions of superhuman beings. Living at s time when there was a revival of old and gross superstitions, to which the vulgar had recourse when fears of invasions arose, he dared to attack when fears of invasions arose, he dared to attack the traditional and persistent ideas about the gods. Aniong the sentences quoted from the fragments of his writings are the following: "Homer and Hesiod have ascribed to the gods things that are a shame and a disgrace among men—theft, and adulteries, and deception of one another." Again: "There never was, nor will be, a man who has clear certainty as to what I say about the gods and about all things; for, even if he does chance to say what is right, yet he himself does not know that it is so. But all are free to guess." Once more: "Mortals think that the gods were born as they are, and have senses and a voice and body like their own. So the Ethiopians make their gods black and snub-nosed; the Tractans give theirs red hair and blue eyes." Lastly: "There is one God, the greatest among gods and men, unlike mortals, both in mind and body." Our author reminds us that, had such heresies been spoken in Athens, the "secular arm" of the archons would probably have made short work of. Xenophanes. In Elea, however, or in whatever other colony he may have lived, "the gods were left to take care of themselves." Later than the philosopher's heretofore named was Heraclitus of Ephesus, nicknamed "the dark," from the obscurity of his style. Many of his aphorisms are indeed dark sayings, but those that yield up to us their meaning are full of truth at yield up to us their meaning are full of truth at yield up to us their meaning are full of truth and the same in the cars. "You will not fine the winesses than the cars." The eyes are suggestiveness. For example: "The eyes are suggestiveness. For example: The eyes are suggestiveness. For example: of his philosophy; "You cannot step twee his philosophy of Empedocles, a nat the traditional and persistent ideas about the gods. Among the sentences quoted from the fragments of his writings are the following: A pioneer is, literally, a foot soldier; one who goes before an army to clear the road of obstruc-tion. Hence the application of the term to men

school, were purely abstract and fanciful.

philosophy was ethical as well as cosmical, held that all things are made of numbers

As is well known, the Pythagoreans,

must always accord with facts. Experience furnishes the particular facts from which induction is the pathway to general laws. Distinctive also of Aristotle was his rejection of cant and assertion of law, not of law personlind as cause, but simply as the struct which we express the fact that can be the structure of the person of the pers

Although no theistic element could be exracted by the theologians of the early Christian Church from the systems of Empedocles and Democritus, they were formative powers is Greek philosophy, and have "come by their ewn" in these latter days. Their chief representative in the post-Aristotelian period was Epicurus, who was born at Samos 342 B. C. His teaching has been perverted so that his name has become loosely identified with indulgence and gross sensual living. It is true that he saw in pleasure the highest happiness, and therefore advocated the pursuit of pleasure to attain happiness; but he did not mean thereby the pursuit of unworthy objects; rather did he counsel the following after pure, high, and noble aims, whereby alone, he said, could a man have peace of mind. With regard to his cosmic views, Epicurus adopted the theory of Leucippus, and applied it consistently. The do-nothing gods who dwell serenely indifferent to human affairs, and of whom, therefore, men should have no dread; all things, indeed, whether dead or living, even the ideas that enter the mind, are, he said, alike composed of atoms. He also accepted the theory broached by Empedocles as to the survival of fit and capable forms, after life had arrived at these through the processes of spontaneous gen eration and the production of sterile monstroa-ities. Adopting the speculations of these fore-runners, he made them the vehicle of didactic and ethical philosophies which inspired the poem of Lucretius. Between Epicurus and Lu-cretius, a period of same two centuries, there